

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 179074

LIMDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT PARIS 22201 SENT ACTION SECSTATE, USUN NEW YORK,  
LONDDON, BONN, OTTAWA, PRETORIA, GABORONE, MAPUTO, DAR ES  
SALAAM, LUSAKA, LAGOS, KHARTOUM, GENEVA 13 JUL 78

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 22201

LIMDIS

GENEVA FOR SECRETARY AND MOOSE

FROM AMBASSADOR MCHENRY

E.O. LL652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, PDEV, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: LAST STEP AND NEW BEGINNINGS

SUMMARY: FIFTEEN MONTHS OF INTENSIVE NEGOTIATING  
EFFORTS BY THE WESTERN FIVE ENDED JULY L2 WITH  
SWAPO'S AGREEMENT TO THE WESTERN SETTLEMENT PRO-  
POSAL FOR NAMIBIA. END SUMMARY

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L. DISCUSSIONS THROUGHOUT JULY LL FOCUSED ON  
SWAPO'S REMAINING CONCERNS. THESE WERE: DESIRE  
TO GO ON RECORD REGARDING THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF RE-  
LATIONSHIP BETWEEN UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND  
SOUTH AFRICAN ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL, THEIR PREFER-  
ENCE FOR RESTRICTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDUAL FORCE

TO A SINGLE BASE, AND SATISFACTORY ASSURANCES ON WALVIS BAY, SPECIFICALLY REGARDING WORKING OF THE FIVE'S DRAFT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION.

2. AFTER SUBSTANTIAL DISCUSSION ON EACH TOPIC FIVE TOLD SWAPO THEY HAD NO DIFFICULTY WITH SWAPO'S "UNDERSTANDING" OF ASPECTS OF THE SR-AG RELATIONSHIP, POINTING OUT THAT SWAPO WAS FREETO MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT ON THIS SUBJECT. THE CONTACT GROUP ALSO NOTED SWAPO'S PREFERENCE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDUAL FORCE BE RESTRICTED TO A SINGLE BASE. ON WALVIS BAY, SWAPO SUGGESTED AMENDING PORTIONS OF THE FIVE'S DRAFT RESOLUTION. AFTER CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION AND REFERENCE TO CAPITALS, A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE FORMULA WAS ARRIVED AT EVENING JULY 12. SWAPO PRESIDENT NUJOMA INFORMED THOSE PRESENT THAT SWAPO WAS "NOW AGREED TO PROCEED TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL", AND DELIGHTED ANGOLAN HOSTS PRODUCED CHAMPAGNE FOR ALL. SWAPO ENGAGED IN TOASTS AND CONGRATULATIONS BUT THEIR MOOD WAS SERIOUS, IF NOT GLUM.

3. FRONT LINE REPRESENTATIVES PLAYED A VITAL ROLE IN BRINGING ABOUT SWAPO'S ACCEPTANCE. NETO TOLD VISITING EEC OFFICIALS ON FRIDAY PRECEDING TALKS THAT HE WANTED IMPERFECT SETTLEMENT NOW  
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RATHER THAN A PERFECT SETTLEMENT NEVER. TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MKAPA, ZAMBIAN PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER MARK CHONA, AND MPLA OFFICIAL PASCOAL LUVUALO, THE FIRST VICE PRIME MINISTER AND THE VICE MINISTER OF DEFENSE BROUGHT UNREMITTING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON NUJOMA AND HIS COLLEAGUES AND PROVIDED CONTACT GROUP WITH INVALUABLE COUNSEL ON TACTICS. SO INTENSE DID FRONT LINE PRESSURE BECOME ON NUJOMA THAT HE AT ONE POINT COMPLAINED THAT CONTACT GROUP HAD "GONE TO OUR FRIENDS AND TOLD THEM TO STOP GIVING US AID" AND ON ANOTHER OCCASION TESTILY ASSERTED THAT SWAPO'S FRIENDS AND SYMPATHIZERS HAD "NO RIGHT TO IMPOSE THEIR WILL ON US."

4. PARTICULARLY NOTEWORTHY WAS THE ANGOLAN CONTRIBUTION. THE MPLA GOVERNMENT SPARED NO EFFORT TO MAKE THE TALKS SUCCEED AND PROVIDED SPLENDID SUPPORT FOR THE FIVE. GIVEN ANGOLA'S KEY POSITION IN THE NAMIBIA JIGSAW PUZZLE, IT MIGHT NOT BE GOING TOO FAR TO SUGGEST THAT THE TALKS COULD NOT HAVE SUCCEEDED WITHOUT THE STRONG BACKING PROVIDED BY THE NATO GOVERNMENT. THE IDEA OF HOLDING THE MEETING IN

LUANDA WAS NYERERE'S. MKAPA TOLD US THAT THE IDEA

WAS TO PUT ANGOLA IN POSITION OF CHAIRMAN STATING COLLECTIVE FRONT LINE VIEWS AND THUS ESCAPING THE CHARGE THAT ANGOLA HAD "SOLD OUT" A FELLOW LIBERATION MOVEMENT FOR SELFISH REASONS. IT WORKED. LUVUALO IS A TOUGH CHAIRMAN--EVEN TO THE POINT OF TELLING AMBASSADOR MCHENRY (JOKINGLY ?) THAT NO ONE WOULD LEAVE ANGOLA UNTIL AN AGREEMENT WAS REACHED.

5. IMPORTANT TOO WAS THE POSITION OF INTERNAL SWAPO LEADERS, PARTICULARLY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SWAPO COUNCIL OF ELDERS. IN PRIVATE MEETINGS WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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FRONT LINE SEVERAL INTERNAL REPRESENTATIVES ARE SAID TO HAVE BEEN ALIGNED WITH MKAPA/CHONA/LUVUALO. WHEN NUJOMA CITED RELEASE OF TWO SWAPO MEMBERS AS VICTORY OF MILITARY STRUGGLE, INTERNAL GROUP SAID IT WAS PRESSURE OF FIVE, NOT NUJOMA'S RHETORIC. NOT ALL SWAPO INTERNAL WAS UNITED. SMITH BROTHERS-BEARDED INTERNAL TREASURER TOLD MCHENRY ONLY HALF-JOKINGLY THAT HE WAS RETURNING TO NAMIBIA TO REPORT THE "SELL-OUT" (AFTER WHICH HE WOULD SPEND A YEAR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF DETROIT).

6. FOLLOWING THE KHARTOUM SUMMIT, THE SCENE WILL SHIFT TO THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL FOR THE BEGINNING OF THE IMPLEMENTATION PHASE. WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO HAVE NUJOMA AND OTHER KEY SWAPO OFFICIALS IN NEW YORK AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN JULY AFTER KHARTOUM IN ORDER TO BEGIN SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION WHILE CANADIANS STILL HAVE COUNCIL PRESIDENCY. NUJOMA APPARENTLY WISHES TO GO TO BELGRADE (NON-ALIGNED MEETING?) AFTER KHARTOUM BUT HERE AGAIN HE WILL COME UNDER PRESSURE FROM THE FRONT LINE. THEY HAVE URGED EARLIEST POSSIBLE SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING. SAID MKAPA, "YOU LEAVE IT TO US. WE'LL PUT SAM ON THE PLANE FOR NEW YORK IMMEDIATELY AFTER KHARTOUM IF NOT BEFORE."

7. A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE FINAL TWO DAYS IN THE LONG EFFORT TO SECURE A NAMIBIA AGREEMENT FOLLOWS IN SEPTEL AND WILL BE OF INTEREST TO ALL THOSE WHO HAVE IN VARIOUS WAYS PARTICIPATED

IN THIS ENDEAVOR.

HARTMAN

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UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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